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JAINISM IN KALINGADESA

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JAINISM IN KALINGADEŚA

What is Kalinga ?

Pt. Nilkanth Das is of the view[1] that the kingdom of Kalinga extended ordinarily from Tamluk to mid-Ganjam on the sea-coast. The Ganges was its northern boundary, forests beyond mid-Ganjam extended to the South, the Indian Ocean was on the east. The western boundary was, however, uncertain. At times it may have extended upto the Amarkantaka range in upper C. P. and included the ancient South Kosala or Mahakosal kingdom within its territories.

No reference to Kalinga is to be found in Vedic literature, although an attempt is occasionally made[2] to include Kalinga among the kingdoms of the South, the rulers of which are described in *Aitareya Brahmana* as assuming the title '*Bhoja*'. In the *Mahabharata* there is specific mention of Kalinga as a 'forest kingdom' with its ruler Chitrangada. The *Arthashastra* refers to Kalinga in connection with a special kind of cotton fabric. It is a doubtful question whether Kalinga was a kingdom of the Aryavarta; as late as the Dharma-Sutra of Bodhayana the countries beyond the territories included between the Indus and the Yamuna are spoken of as *mlechcha-desa*, where no arrangement or regulation exists with regard to women. In the Sutra itself it is stated that whoever goes to Kalinga commits sin with his feet and must perform the Vaisvanariya-Isṭi. From the study of the Sutra literature, Prof. R. D. Banerji concludes that the "people of Eastern Bengal, Northern Bengal and Kalinga were regarded in the time of the Sutras as being altogether out of the pale of Aryan civilization and among them the people of Kalinga obtained a slight preference. So, while the people of Bengal were regarded as untouchables and were not spoken to or touched by the Aryans, the people of Kalinga were not so. We have no means to deter-

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[1] *See* Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society II, 12.

[2] *See* J. A. H. R. S. II, 1.

mine for what reasons the Aryans have condescended to confer this distinction on the dark Dravidian of Kalinga, but it is there in the Sutra literature and cannot be denied[3]." Such a conclusion seems to be supported also by the authority of Jain literature, which refers to the territories included in Western Bengal, the 'pathless country of the Radha', as *anarya-desa*, but does not so refer to the country of Kalinga.

Kalinga a Jain Stronghold

It seems probable that about 7th century B.C. Kalinga had come to be considered as a kingdom of Aryavarta. The early Buddhist texts mention Kalinga several times with its capital Dantapur, although it is not included among the sixteen *mahajanpadas* enumerated in the *Anguttara Nikayn*. In Indian history Kalinga has its main importance as the channel, the route by which northern cultures filtered to the South. Of this northern culture which made way to the South through Kalinga, the earliest form was presumably Jainism. For this there are reasons.

In the history of Indian culture the Sramana system of the Jains and the Buddhists represents a veritable compromise between the Aryan and the Dravidian habits of life and thought. The Aryans were essentially practical in their outlook, and their social system was aristocractic recognising the special position of the Brahmanas as the performers of the Yajnas and sacrifices; while the Dravidian outlook was more theoretical and their social system more democratic and individualistic in its spirit. Taking our stand upon this essential difference between the Aryan and the Dravidian cultures, the Sramana system of the Jains and Buddhists, more particularly perhaps of the Jains, appears to be in its content nearer the Dravidian than the Aryan type, although its propagators, the Jain Tirthankaras, were invariably persons of the Aryan stock; and so Jainism, as a philosophical and religious theory must have been naturally acceptable to the indigenous ele-

[3] *See* History of Orissa, 1930 p. 58

ments of Kalinga population, with whom it was traditionally connected. It is not an insignificant fact that Jain sacred literature mentions that the congregations of the Tirthankaras consisted of non-Aryans as well as Aryans, everyone being received there with the same dignity and welcome.

Tradition also lends its support to our contention. Mahavira, the last Jain Tirthankara, seems to have visited Kalinga, where his father's friend was ruling, and preached Jainism there. Further, there is mention in the *Hathigumpha* inscription of Kharvela, of which more will be said later on, to the image of Kalinga-jina, which had been carried away from Kalinga by a Nanda king and which Kharavela ultimately recovered from Magadha. The Kalinga-Jina[4], as will be manifest from the study of the whole extant Jain sculpture in Orissa, is none other than Parsvanath, the twenty-third Tirthankara, who died 250 years before Mahavira; which clearly establishes that Jainism must have existed in Orissa before the time of Mahavira. From the traditional literature of the Jains we know that before Mahavira's time Parsva was the Tirthankara worshipped by the Jain Sangha and that Mahavira's own father was a worshipper of Parsva and that in many instances Mahavira had to preach his rather more elaborated system among the followers of Parsva. Possibly in coming to Kalinga, to the kingdom of a friend of his father's, Mahavira was doing nothing more than propagating his revised form of Jainism among a people who already belonged to the Jain Sangha as organised by Tirthankara Parsva.

Early History of Kalinga

Kalinga emerges into the light of history with the rise of the Nandas. The *Hathigumpha* inscription

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[4] Prof. R. D. Banerji thinks that the Kalinga Jina is the tenth Tirthankara, Sitalanatha, who was born at Bhadalpur (probably, Bhadrachalam or Bhadrapuram in the Kaling country)—

See History of Orissa p. 61. Prof. Banerji naturally concludes that "Orissa had been a Jain stronghold from the very beginning."

Soon after Asoka's death, although it is difficult to say exactly when, Kalinga seems to have thrown off the yoke of Magadha rule and regained its independence. This must have happened long before the overthrow of the Mauryan dynasty by the Senapati Pushyamitra, for historians have read in the *Hathigumpha* inscription of Kharavela a reference to the defeat of Pushyamitra, the usurper of Magadha, at the hands of Kharavela.

Kharavela's Inscription

With the recovery of its independence from Magadha yoke, Kalinga entered upon the enjoyment of the third great spell of her history as a free country, the first having been the period of the thirty-two kings referred to in the Puranas before the reduction of the country by Nandaraja, and the second having been the interval between the fall of the Nandas and Kalinga conquest by Asoka. Of this third period of Kalinga's history as an independent kingdom, our main, in fact the only, evidence is to be found in the great rock inscription of King Kharavela on the Udaigiri hill.

The inscription is inscribed partly in front and partly on the roof of the Hathigumpha cavern on the southern face of Udaigiri hill, situated about three miles from Bhuvaneswara. Unfortunately, the inscription is very much damaged; all that can be read with any degree of certainty is the first seven lines and certain portions only of the remaining ten. Its language is Apabhramsa Prakrita, with traces of Ardha Magadhi and Jain Prakritisms. The inscription was discovered by A. Stirling as early as the year 1820, and its facsimile was published in various journals, but its first workable version was given only in 1885 by Dr. Bhagawanlal Indraji in the proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Orientalists held at Leyden. He felt that in the 16th line there was reference to the date of the inscription as '165 Maurya era', which he calculated as 157 B.C.; and this reading was accepted by a long line of historical researchers. But Dr. Bhagawanlal's hypothesis was questioned in 1910 by Prof. Luders in

an article in the Indian Antiquary and by Dr. Fleet in another article in the Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, who felt that the record did not mention any date at all and that the passage in the 16th line referred instead to a certain canonical text of the Jainas which had gone out of use during the reign of Mauryas. This occasioned considerable controversy, but happily it is today possible to state that the controversy has subsided and Dr. Fleet's reading of the 16th line has been fully agreed to by all.

The inscription begins with an invocation of the *Arhat* and the *Siddhas* in the traditional Jain style, and there is no doubt that it is a Jain inscription and that Kharavela himself was a Jain monarch. It was probably that fact about the inscription which helped the universal acceptance of Dr. Fleet's view of the reading of the 16th line, although in the traditional Jain literature there has not yet been found any mention of a collection of the Jain texts by Kharavela and even of Kharavela himself. In historical research about ancient India, literature has been utilised frequently as a secondary source and as a corrective for the information gleaned from primary sources like inscriptions and so far as the inscription is concerned there is not the slightest doubt that it gives an account of the principal events of Kharavela's political life and even enables us more or less accurately to fix the date of the great emperor. The inscription, it may be noticed, describes Kharavela as Aila (belonging to the Kshatriya clan), belonging to the *Chedi* dynasty. It makes no mention of Kharavela's father or predecessors, a curious omission, which has led Prof. Banerji° to the conclusion that possibly Kharavela did not know the name of his father and that there prevailed in Kalinga at that time some form of matriarchal society.

Account of Kharavela's Reign

As we have said above, the *Hathigumpha* inscription affords a reliable account of the principal

° *See* History of Orissa, p. 74.

events of Kharavela's reign. It mentions that Kharavela became the Yuvaraja or heir-apparent at the age of 15 and was formally annointed king in the 24th year. The first year of the king's reign was spent in repairing the damages to the city of Kalinga caused by a cyclone. He repaired the forts, built the dams and walls, and furnished the town with fine gardens, thus pleasing his three-and-a-half million people.

In the 2nd year he undertook the first campaign of the reign; he sent his army westwards, where it reached the river Krishna and caused terror to the city of the Mushikas. It is mentioned that all this was done in defiance of Satakarni, who was presumably the third king of the Satâvahana dynasty. The inscription gives no reasons for the expedition and no information about its final results. But the Mushikas were probably a subordinate ally of Satakarni and their country was more or less adjoining to Kalinga, for the *Natya-sastra* describes the Tosalas, the Kosalas, the Mosalas (probably Mushikas) as related to the Kalingas.

The third year was marked by great rejoicings in the capital of Kalinga, where Kharavela established many pastimes.

The record of the fourth year is partly damaged. It opens with a reference to a city established by previous kings of Kalinga and presumably in tact upto the time of Kharavela, and then goes on to refer to the Rashtrikas and the Bhojakas, whom Kharavela compelled to submit to him. They were probably feudatory tribes to the Andhras.

In the fifth year, the inscription mentions that Kharavela futher extended to his capital a canal opened in the year 103 of the Nandaraja. This reference enables us to state that possibly Tosali, in whose neighbourhood incidently this inscription stands, was the capital of Kharavela's kingdom.

The beginning of the next line is damaged, but from the context we can infer that it gives an account of the sixth year, during which Kharavela performed

the *Rajasuya-Yajna* and remitted taxes and customs duties. The performance of the *Rajasuya-Yajna* by a Jain King of Kalinga affords further support to our argument that Kalinga formed the channel by which northern or Aryan culture progressed to the South.

In the seventh year possibly a child was born to Kharavela's queen, who was a princess of Vajjra-ghara, which has been identified by Prof. Krishnaswami Iyengar as the "important territory of Bengal on the side of Ganges."[7]

The first important campaign in North India was undertaken in the eighth year, when Kharavela marched with a large army towards Magadha and fought an important action at Gorathagiri (modern Barabar hill in the Gaya district), which was presumably one of the outlying fortresses protecting Rajagrha, the capital of Magadha. The rest of the line being damaged, the result of this campaign is not known.

The next line presumably gives record of the 9th year, when Kharavela gave away elephants, chariots and horses to the Brahmanas and built at the cost of thirty-eight lacs a palace called *Maha-Vijaya.*

In the tenth year Kharavela undertook his second campaign to North India and obtained his desired objects, the details of which have unfortunately been lost in the damaged portion of the 10th line.

In the 11th year he turned his attention to the South and destroyed the city of Pithunda and at the same time broke a league of Tamil kings which had existed for about 113 years. This is Prof. Banerji's interpretation, and it differs widely from how the other scholars have read this line; but it appears to be the most satisfactory interpretation, for it is based upon the assumption that Kharavela's conquests were made primarily in South India and not in North India. The absence of Kharavela's mention in the traditional literature of North India would obviously support Prof. Banerji's contention.

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[7] *See* Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture p. 39.

From now onwards campaigns were undertaken, it seems, in very quick succession, as the king was now in the prime of his life. In the twelfth year, he produced consternation among the kings of *Uttarapatha* by plundering the capital of Magadha, Pataliputra, and compelling the Raja of Magadha, Brhaspati-Mitra (who has been indentified by historians with Pushyamitra, the Sunga usurper of the Mauryan throne), to surrender. During this campaign, he brought away an image of Kalinga-Jina, which had been taken away from Kalinga by Nanda-raja. In the same year, Kharavela seems to have subdued the Pandyas, who sent him, the inscription mentions, jewelry, either as present or as tribute.

Finally, for the *Hathigumpha* inscription finishes with the 13th year of the reign, Kharavela made arrangements in his 13th year for the distribution of white clothes to the Jain monks on the Kumari hill where the Jina Mahavira had preached his religion, and built a relic memorial at this place. During this year Kharavela seems to have devoted himself entirely to religious meditation and activity. As mentioned in line 14 above, he had already taken the vow of an *Upasaka* and fully understood the relat on between body and soul.[8] Now he convened a Ja'n Council, where monks from all quarters were assembled and the text of the Jain canon was compiled in so far as it was possible to do so after the loss suffered during the religious upheaval in the days of Mauryas. As we have stated before, there is unluckily no mention in the Jain traditional literature of this Jain Council.

The *Hathigumpha* inscription is silent about further events of the reign of Kharavela. We cannot, therefore, speak with certainty about the length of his rule. Still, the inscription gives us material enough to assert with firmness that Kharavela was a powerful prince and raised the position of Kalinga to great heights. The importance of the record, from the point of view

[8] पूजाय रत-उवास-खारवेल-सिरिना जीव-देह-सिरिका परिखिता ।

of historians, is even otherwise quite paramount, for it is the only example that has so far been discovered of a chronological account of the events of a king's reign. Obviously the monarch of Kalinga had deep historical sense, which is not a frequent experience in ancient Indian history. Further, this inscription affords welcome insight into the kind of training which was given to an heir-apparent in order to equip him to learn the burdens of the kingly office. The second line of this inscription mentions specifically accomplishments in subjects like state-accounting, currency, civil law, religious law, and other *vidyas*.

Kharavela is mentioned once more in another inscription close to the *Hathigumpha* in the upper part of a double stoeyed cave called the Svargapuri. This part of the cave was inscribed by the chief queen of Kharavela, who is referred to in this inscription as *Kalinga-Chakravartin*, as constrasted with *Kalinga-Adhipati*, the term used in the *Hathigumpha* inscription. This has led scholars to argue that by the time the other inscription was made Kharavela must have become the overlord of 'Tri-Kalinga', the three Kalingas. The word 'Tri-Kalinga' round which so much is built by scholars of ancient history, finds no distinct mention in epigraphic or other records before the time of Kosala Gupta's conquest of Orissa in the 7th century A.D., and the 'Tri-Kalinga' obtained its meaning as the consequence of the disurption of Kalinga into three distinct kingdoms, viz., Utkal, Kangoda and Kosala (or South Ganjam)—a disruption which does not occur until long after Kharavela's time. In Kharavela's time Kalinga was a single kingdom, so that if the appellation *Kalinga-Chakravartin* used in the inscription has some meaning it must be discovered not by bringing in the concept of 'Tri-Kalinga' but by arguing that possibly Kharavela had himself assumed or, better still, that his chief queen had applied to him the new title in pure self-glorification after the various beneficient acts that he had performed in furtherance of the happiness of his people.

Date of Kharavela

As regards the date of Kharavela there has been controversy among scholars. We have already stated how at one time the 16th line was thought to contain a clue to the date of the inscription, for it was read as पानतरिय सठिवससते राजमुरियकाले वोच्छिने च चोयठिअगसतिकं (lit. in the time of King Moriya which had elapsed by a hundred and sixty five years). Dr. Bhagawanlal Indraji connected the words चोयठि अगसतिकं with वोच्छिने and translated it as 164 years, and argued that it gave the number of the elapsed years. Such an interpretation was later on felt to be untenable, for the passage did not contain any word for 'years' and anyhow the passage in the line was read as referring to the compilation of the fourth part of the *Anga-Saptika*, the *Chosathi* which had been destroyed during the rule of the Mauryas. The determination of the date of Kharavela was then made dependent upon the reading of the 6th line, which referred to the year 103 of the Nandaraja. The argument was made that the fifth year of Kharavela's reign to which the 6th line refers coincides with the 103 counted either from the beginning or from the end or from any intermediate year of King Nanda; but on calculation such coincidence was found to be very improbable. Consideration of architectural and sculptural principles yielded no more certain results, for Ferguson and Burgess state[9] that the fashion of chiselling cells out of the living rock commenced with Asoka's reign and was continued with continually increasing magnificence and elaboration for nearly 1000 years after his time. Hathigumpha seems to be a natural cavern, little improved or enlarged by art, so that its date ought to be slightly before Asoka's time; but that was felt to be impossible in view of several other references in the inscription to certain contemporary rulers or persons, to the analysis of whose date recourse was now had in order to fix the date of the *Hathigumpha* inscription.

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[9] *See* The Cave Temples of India pp. 67-8.

In the 8th line which refers to the 8th year of Kharavela's reign, there appears to be reference to the Yavana king Demet(rios) who, on hearing the report of Kharavela's acts of valour, retreated from Mathura. The fact that there was a Greek invader near the Madhyamika territory when Pushyamitra, the ruler of Magadha, was engaged in the celebration of his *Asvamedha-Yajna* is corroborated by the grammarian Patanjali, who was writing his commentary on Sanskrit grammar as these events took place. Furthermore, it is certain from classical sources that when Demetrios was engaged upon his conquests on the Yamuna he suddenly received information about the success of his rival Eucratides in Bactria, which necessitated his sudden retreat from Mathura. All these facts can be placed together and made to fit into the account contained in the inscription. Demetrios came as far as Mathura, and even beyond Mathura to Saketa, when Pushyamitra was engaged upon the performance of his *Asvamedha* sacrifice. Just then Kharavela made his attack on Gorathagiri, which Pushyamitra was evidently not able to face; and since Demetrios retreated from Mathura at the same time on hearing of the successes of Eukratides in Bactria and without any action against him on the part of Kharavela, Kharavela naturally felt justified in reporting in his inscription that—घातापयिता राजगहं उपपीडापयति एतिना च कम्मापदानसंनादेन संवइतसेनवाहनो विपमुंचितुं मधुरां अपयातो यवनराज डिमित---यच्छति वि--पलव—

In addition to this reference to the Yavana king, there is another ground on which the date of the inscription can be fixed. An Andhra king Satakarni is actually mentioned in the inscription (2nd line) as Kharavela's rival, and this person can be none other than the Satakarni of the *Nanaghat* inscription, which on epigraphical grounds has been decided to belong to the same period as the *Hathigumpha* inscription, so that even though the *Hathigumpha* inscription is undated there is ample reason to believe that Kharavela would fit in with the dates of Demetrios and Satakarni in the first half of the second century B.C.

Later History of Kalinga

Thus in the 2nd century B.C., Kalinga was the centre of a powerful empire ruled over by Kharavela, who was one of the greatest royal patrons of the Jain faith. It is possible that the statements in the *Hathigumpha* may be somewhat prejudiced, in which successes may have been exaggerated and reverses entirely passed over and in the absence of any other kind of evidence about Kharavela, in literature or in contemporary records, the testing of these statements has not been possible. Nevertheless Kharavela's existence is now universally accepted, and it seems quite safe to conclude that Kharavela was a powerful monarch and that Kalinga under his rule achieved certain eminence and enjoyed great prosperity. There is another inscription in the verandah of the lower storey of *Svargapuri Cave*, which records its excavation by a king of Kalinga named Kudepasiri, who also styled himself in a similar manner to Kharavela as 'Aila' 'Mahameghavahana' and the overlord of Kalinga[10]. Clearly, this Kudepasiri was from the dynasty of Kharavela, although it cannot be stated exactly how long and when he ruled. But after Kudepasiri "the fall of dense darkness again descends upon the history of Kalinga."

Prof. Krishnaswami Iyengar[11] has found reference in Tamil literature to a fratricidal war between the cousin rulers of two kingdoms of Kalinga—with their respective capitals, Kapilapura and Simhapura, and he believes that this fratricidal war took place soon after the death of Kharavela and that it marked the disruption of the country's territorial integrity. In Kharavela's time Kalinga was a well-formed kingdom, set over against the rising kingdom of the Satavahanas of the Deccan. It is possible that the ultimate fall of Kalinga came about at the hands of Satavahanas. The subjugation of Kalinga by the Satavahanas must have taken place before the Satavahana conquest of Magadha

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[10] *See* Epigraphica Indica XIII, p. 160.

[11] *See* J. A, H. R. S. II, 4, 5.

in the 1st century B.C., for the Tamil epics that refer to the march of Kasikala to the north do not make any mention of the Kalinga kingdom, although they do refer to Vajranadu, a kingdom on the banks of the Sone, Magadha and Avanti. Among the conquests of Gautamiputra Satakarni figure the hills of Mahendra and Malaya. Prof. Krishnaswami Iyengar is of the view that Malaya stands for Malyavan, one of the far eastern peaks of Vindhyan mountains, quite on the borderland of Kalinga, which implies that Kalinga was conquered by Gautamiputra Satakarni.

When the Andhra power declined Kalinga seems to have fallen to the share of an usurper from Ayodhya, Sri Vira Purusha Datta of Iksvaku race. Under the Guptas, a small part of Kalinga seems to have been included in the Gupta empire, but the major portion remained outside. It is noticeable that in his southern campaign Samudragupta chose to neglect the more practicable route to the Godavari-Krishna Doab along the eastern coast through south-western Bengal, and followed instead the extremely difficult route through the Jubbulpore and Rajpur districts of the Central Provinces. By arranging the kings mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, scholars like Jouven-Duvreaul have come to the conclusion that Samudragupta came as far as the Ganjam district but did not go further, for he was met as he emerged from the western ghats towards the coast, by a confederacy of Southern kings, which included among others Swamidatta of Kothura, Damana of Erandappalle, and Kulura of Devarashtra, which places have been identified with places in the Kalinga country. Nevertheless it seems certain that Kalinga came distinctly within the zone of influence of the Guptas. In certain inscriptions, particularly in the Ganjam area, Gupta era came to be used. Still, the religious condition of Kalinga remained possibly undisturbed, with Jainism retaining its ascendancy and co-existing with the other forms of Sramana and Brahmana faiths.

The Kalinga invasion of Samudragupta, that is

of the territories comprised within the limits of Kalinga, seems to have left the country politically disorganised, for there is record of Yavana rule over Kalinga again and some members of the ruling family migrating to Ceylon. Prof. Krishnaswami Iyengar thinks that this Yavana must have been one of the Kshatrapas of the west, although in view of the existence of the Vakataka power on the way that seems somewhat unlikely. When the Gupta empire went into dismemberment at the end of the fifth century, Kalinga may have regained some of the lost power and emerged into some importance again, although Prof. Banerji said, so far as the history of Kalinga is concerned we are not on firm ground until the 7th century A.D., when Yuan Chwang, the Chinese pilgrim, paid a visit to Kalinga. Yuan Chwang does not give the exact boundaries of the country, although he mentions that Kalinga was then divided into three parts—U'cha (Odra), Kong-yu-to (Kugoda) and Ki-ling-kia (Kalinga). The country, Yuan Chwang goes on to say, was less than a thousand miles in circuit, containing large forests. It produced large dark elephants which were prized in the neighbourhood. "The people were rude and headstrong in disposition, observant of good faith and fairness, fast and clear in speech, in their talk and manners they differed somewhat from mid-India."

Politically, history of Kalinga during this period is rather obscure, but from a religious point of view this period of Kalinga history seems to offer a momentous aspect, for it was about this time that Nagarjuna of Kanchi converted Kalinga to the Mahayana school of Buddhism, which later on changed its shape into the neo-Vaishnavic Hinduism of which Jagannath Puri, one of the famous cities of Kalinga, has since been the great distributing centre.

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20. **K. G. Sankara**—"Ketuman and Kalinga." VI, 36-9.
21. **A. Banerji Sastri**—"The Ajivikas." XII, 53-62.
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27. **K. P. Jayaswal**—"Hathigumpha Notes." XIV, 150-1.
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29. **K. P. Jain**—"A Note on *Aila* Kharavela." XV, 277-9.
30. **G. Ramdas**—"Trikalinga Country." XV, 635-42.
31. **N. Tripathi**—"A Note on the Hathigumpha Inscription of Emperor Kharavela." XVI, 189-205.
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